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Suggested State Department Position on
New Psychological Strategy Board

1. The Problem

To define the functions of the new Psychological Strategy Board in relation to the existing National Psychological Strategy Board (hereafter called "National Psychological Coordinating Committee," in order to distinguish it from the new body).

2. Expected Situation

The Psychological Strategy Board, composed of the Under-secretaries of State and Defense and the Director of CIA, will be the highest authority concerned with the coordination of psychological warfare strategy. It will be served by a Director of Planning, who will be the highest paid official concerned with PW.

3. Functions of the National Psychological Strategy Board

If the PSB concerns itself primarily with handling current information problems or with planning for future informational work in peace or war, it will be duplicating work which could be performed with equal or greater efficiency by the Coordinating Committee. If it builds up a large policy staff and attempts to perform functions now located in State, Defense and CIA, it would precipitate even more confusion, and would probably delay an effective program by as much as six months. Furthermore, it is well-known that there simply isn't enough trained personnel to man such an agency. Either policy personnel would have to be stripped from State and Defense or else untrained and unsuitable personnel would have to be hired.

There is, however, a large and vital area which the Strategy Board should make its primary concern. This is the whole field of the PW effects of policy -- political and military.

It may be difficult to sell this idea, but the effort is well worth making. As you know, students of psychological warfare are almost unanimous in believing that a sound PW program can never be built unless PW considerations are taken into account during the process of policy formulation. This is one of the main points Wallace Carroll tried to make in Persuade or Perish, it has been the main theme of various

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consultants who have studied the Department's information program, and it has been the subject of a number of RAND studies.

Once this basic point of view is accepted -- that the chief concern of the PSB is with the PW effects of policy -- then a logical distinction in function between the Board and the Coordinating Committee is clear. The detailed activity of each body will have to be settled by trial and error, but the broad outlines are as follows:

The Strategy Board will -

- a. Serve as the highest body for formulating inter-departmental PW goals and transmitting them to the President or one of the Cabinet members for issuance when appropriate.
- b. Review, from the point of view of PW strategy, all major political and military plans of inter-departmental scope which are presently in existence, and make recommendations for revision where appropriate. Its staff will then investigate the practicability of these revisions and perform necessary paper work to implement them when possible.
- c. Serve as a channel through which interdepartmental political and military plans may go on their way to the Secretaries, the NSC, or the White House, and make recommendations for changes in content which would assist in achieving PW objectives. The staff will perform necessary research and coordination.
- d. Refer to the Coordinating Committee appropriate matters which require planning or immediate implementation in the information field on an inter-departmental level.
- e. Either approve, or transmit to higher authority for approval, major informational plans and policies which are suggested by the Coordinating Committee.

The Coordinating Committee will, for the most part, continue its present functions of implementing NSC 59.

In addition it will --

- a. Suggest to the Board the substance of policies which would be useful in furthering PW strategy.
- b. Perform planning or implementation in the information field at the request of the Strategy Board.

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- c. Perform paper-work and coordination as requested by the Board. (This will, of course, actually be performed by the staff of the Coordinating Committee, but will be approved where necessary by the Committee itself.)

4. Functions and Nature of the Director of Planning

The March 12th PW Directive clearly envisages a Director of Planning who will be able to do some serious thinking. This means that he must be protected as much as possible from administrative duties. At the most, the Director of Planning might be expected to have six or seven professional assistants plus necessary secretarial staff.

Personnel assisting the Director of Planning will be drawn from the State and Defense Departments, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other agencies as appropriate. At least one assistant familiar with the work of the economic agencies should be included.

The Director of Planning and his assistants will be primarily policy experts rather than information experts. For instance, the Director might be someone on the order of George Kennan or Charles Bohlen. His military assistants will be experts primarily in warfare psychologically waged rather than psychological warfare. For advice on technical problems of information, the Director will rely on existing staffs in the various departments.

Functions of the Director of Planning and his staff will include -

1. Suggestion of major PW policy problems to be laid before the Board.
2. Coordination of research results on major PW policy problems under consideration by the Board.
3. Drafting, or arranging for the drafting, of policy papers for approval by the Board.
4. Arranging for the delegation of these functions which the Board elects not to perform itself, and ensuring that these functions are in fact performed.
5. Arranging for necessary secretariat functions.

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Their primary sources of information will include the instrumentalities under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs as well as those in SP, R, and the regional bureaus, the intelligence and research agencies of the Service Departments, and the machinery of the Central Intelligence Agency. In addition, they can call upon the staff of the Coordinating Committee for such assistance as it is able to provide.

6. Types of Matters Within the Purview of the Board

The following are examples of problems which will fall within the purview of the Board.

1. Policy regarding encouragement of defectors. (Coordination of informational measures designed to encourage defection would remain a task of the Coordinating Committee).
2. Study of alternative policies toward Europe with a view to assessing their probable PW effect in encouraging Western Europeans to resist Communism.
3. Study of policies designed to influence the expectations of the Soviet elite regarding the outcome of a general war or further isolated wars.
4. Coordination with the Atomic Energy Commission, the Agriculture Department, the Justice Department, and other agencies, the policies of which exercise a powerful PW effect. (e.g. atomic tests, destruction of surplus potatoes, barring of non-Communist individuals from entering the United States).
5. Study of the PW effect of various appointments to the high command of SHAPE.

In each case, the Board will be concerned with seeing that a policy is adopted which may be expected to have the most favorable PW effect. It will then refer the matter to the Coordinating Committee which will insure adequate informational treatment.

8. Conclusion

It must be admitted that the solution as proposed here is not administratively ideal. The Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs has had, and will continue to have, a major

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interest in the PW content of policy. Ideally, the Director of Planning should report to him and he should brief the Undersecretary. Given the situation as it is, however, it is believed that appreciable benefit can be derived from the solution as proposed in this paper.

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